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THE AGRICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF JAPAN IN THE PERIOD OF MEIJI RESTORATION (I)

By Hideichi HORIE*

(I) The Problem

By the period "from the end of the Shogunate (幕府) to the Meiji Restoration", the present author means a period of approximately 50 years preceding the enforcement of the land tax reform act of 1873 by which was laid the legal foundation of land ownership of our country operating ever since the Meiji era — the years immediately before the enforcement of the land tax reform act. It is true that this is the period in which we saw the subjugation of the Shogunate (in 1868), the retrocession of feuds to the Emperor (in 1869), and the abolishment of clans (藩) and the establishment of modern prefectures (in 1871), thereby the ancient regime of the feudal government and clans was replaced by the absolute imperial regime of Meiji. This political changes provided a political basis for the economic transition from the feudal economic to a capitalist economic system. For all that, we can safely include this transitionary period of half a century preceding the enforcement of the land tax reform act into the final stage of the ancient regime of feudal government. It is true that the subjugation of the Shogunate brought the Shogunal territory as well as the domains of revolting clans under the direct control of the Emperor, and that the return of feuds

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to the Emperor lead to the nominal, and the abolishment of feudal clans and the establishment of modern prefectures perfected the virtual control of the entire land under the single authority of the Emperor through the denial of territorial rights of fiefs (the establishment of the state-ownership of land), but the land taxation underwent little change in its form as well as in the amount until the land tax reform act was put in force. Although the Restoration and reforms laid a political foundation for the transformation of the feudal economic system into a capitalist economic system, it may safely be said that the real transformation did not start until the tenth of Meiji and the following decade, especially the latter part of it, about which time the enforcement of the land tax reform act was complete. For the present purpose of our economic analysis, therefore, we shall consider the half century period preceding the enforcement of the land tax reform act as the final stage of the economic structure of the Shogunate government and feudal clans — a direct and historical threshold of modern Japan.

By way of ascertaining positively the agricultural structure of Japan in this period, we shall take on ourselves a task of (i) clarifying the most important class relationship in those days of utter confusion from the end of the Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration (明治維新), and (ii) determining the starting point or the base of the agricultural structure characteristic of our country which was founded on parasitical landlord ownership (寄生地主制) which continued to grow even after the land tax reform. Various studies that have hitherto been made on the subject of the agricultural structure in this period related somehow or other to these two problems.

The agricultural structure of this period is a mosaic of heterogeneous components having far greater geographical differences than those of the succeeding period. It is a compound of various types of local structure differing so much from one place to the other. As is agreed upon by a number of studies, the course of development it followed later was a levelling process toward parasitic landlord ownership. In view of this fact, it is of utmost importance to determine the nature of geographical varieties of agricultural structure in the first place, if we really intend to understand different political trends prevailing in different areas in this period and to establish the starting point (or to ascertain the base) of the agricultural structure of the following period. It is a weakpoint of old positive studies that they often tried to judge the agricultural structure of this period by simply generalizing a rule drawn from a specific area they happened to take up as the object of study, but in order to avoid the same mistake we did explain in concrete the agricultural structure of this period as a mosaic of varieties of regional structure differing in the degree of development. By

doing this a host of valuable positive studies of the past will be given a proper position in the entire picture of the agricultural structure of this period.

We established the following two principles to facilitate our understanding by means of incorporating individual components of regional structure into an integrated whole of the real agricultural structure of this period. In the first place, we explain a local characteristic not as a simple particularity but as a feature of the developmental process of regional rearrangement (regional specialization) toward the formation of home market which had already made a good progress. In other words, regional structure will be given a set position in the complete picture of the formative process of our home market (See Section II). It is our position that the formation of our home market had already been well advanced by that time, and the later development of it should be interpreted as a deepening process of the well established home market. Our effort to explain in concrete the nature of regional structure as a feature of the developmental process of regional specialization toward our home market would doubly serve to identify the stage of development in which our growing home market was standing in that period. In the second place, interpreting regional structure as having local characteristics in preparation for its admittance into the home market, we consider that varieties of regional structure tinged with local characteristics of their own represent disintegrating peasant classes qualified by the degree of development and the developmental structure of commodity production in respective regions. Hence, we shall try to define the disintegration of peasant classes in different regions not only from the angle of land-holding and land owning relation — a traditional approach often employed in many studies in the past —, but also from a coordinate angle of their management (See Section III). We take this new approach, because we believe that by doing this, we may grasp the nature of parasitical landlord ownership not merely in its simple form of land-holding and land-owning, but in its substance rooting deeply in agricultural production. What we call "agricultural structure" in this paper does mean the disintegration of peasant classes grasped from the depth of agricultural production such as we explained above, and this is the very point which distinguishes this paper from old studies of others. Another difference from older studies is our attempt to reinterprete strictly this period in which such disintegration of peasant classes was in progress, from the standpoint of the stage theory of capitalistic growth of agriculture, and thereby to redefine the historical peculiarity of the disintegration of peasant classes. In the last place, we shall try to prove the soundness of our position after we see briefly the course of its later development origi-

nating in the period (See Section IV).

(II) Formation of the Home Market

Let us begin with a brief sketch of the basic structure of the feudal economy of the Shogunate government, and then proceed to examine the formative process of the home market through the submission of the feudal regime of the Shogun and feudal lords under the pressure of peasants' proprietorship and commodity economy.

1) Economic Structure of the Shogunate Regime.

As we have seen in the foregoing section, our period was the final stage of the Shogunate regime in its economic sense, and accordingly there was the economic structure of the Shogunate regime in full operation. So, we shall begin with the characterization of the proper economic structure of the Shogunate regime.

The basic economic structure of the Shogun and feudal lords ownership of land was a specific stage of feudal land ownership. Firstly, it falls under the general category of feudal land ownership in that the Shogun, feudal lords, barons and the like ruled in their capacity of feudal landowners the direct producer-peasants who actually hold land, and that the former exploited the latter by the forced imposition of feudal rent. However, the form of feudal rent had already reached the stage of the rent-in-kind and that in rice. Secondly, the land ownership of country warriors (在郷武士), a form of ownership predominant in the preceping period was prohibited as a principle, and lands were concentrated into large unified ownership of the Shogun and feudal lords. In consequence, country warriors of the preceding period were separated from land ownership and ordered to settle together in castle towns to become stipendaries. It may safely be said that the arrival of the form of the rent-in-kind, and that in rice, which was mentioned as the first feature characterizing the basic economic structure of the Shogunate regime, indicates that the peasant classes who were the direct producers had become independent enough to continue reproduction without intervention — "protection" of the feudal lords, and that the concentration of feudal land ownership and the denial of land ownership of retainer classes could hardly be realized unless it was backed with the economic independence of the peasant classes. The development of such feudalistic land ownership set the direct producer, peasant classes against the Shogunate government and feudal lords as their common rivals, and not against several country lords. In the mean time, these Shogunate government and feudal lords were independent rulers of their respective domains, but the latter was given land by the Shogunate Government, these

lords were subject to it. By that clever political device of forced residence at Edo, they had to take turn in returning to Edo to live under the direct surveillance of the Shogunate gonernment. Thus Edo was the castle town of the Shogun and the castle town of feudal lordsat the sametime. The Shogunate government and feudal lord's land ownership was a fairly advanced form of feudal land ownership which overcame proprietorship dispersion to a great extent. In the third place, the collection of rice tribute and the double-residence of Samurai (武士) classes both in Shogun's castletown Edo included in their own precondition a fairly advanced stage of commodity economy. The Shogun and feudal lord's land ownership itslef could not exist without this precondition. The Shogun and feudal lords had to set limits to farming acreage so that the peasants in their domains might be kept within natural economy, while they themselves had to procure necessaries with the proceeds of sales of surplus rice after they paid fiefs to their retainers and put aside a certain amount for their own consumption, as much as their retainer class purchased necessaries with the proceeds of sales of surplus rice remaining after their own consumption (feudal lord's commodity economy). It was a common practice among feudal lords that they sold their surplus rice in Edo, Osaka or Kyoto, especially at the central market Osaka where they often purchased necessaries in exchange. Their retainers usually sold their surplus rice to the merchants in their own castle towns, from whom they procured necessaries — feudal lord's commodity economy consisted in a dual circulation sphere in correspondence with the unique structure of the Shogunate regime. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that it was no other than handicraftsmen of towns or cities, and especially the peasant classes who were believed to have been forced natural economy, by whom these samurai and merchants were supplied with necessaries. These peasants were not only independent and engaged in agriculture on their own account, but also had been commodity producing peasants in greater or less degree from the very beginning (peasant commodity economy). Thus, we can see that feudal lord's commodity economy based on the Shogunate government and feudal lord land ownership preconditioned peasant commodity economy, and could not exist without it. Indeed, the establishment of peasant commodity economy was the very economic foundation which made it possible to realize a smooth and successful transition from feudal rent-in-kind to rice tribute, to concentrate country warriors into castle towns, and to bring into being a centralized feudal system of the Shogunate regime.

Those characteristics of the Shogunate government and feudal lord land ownership which we have explained above, acted upon one another only

to accelerate the dissolving process of the feudal lord land ownership itself. The rent-in-kind paid as feudal rent served to strengthen land-holding of peasants — the independent and self-sustaining character of the peasant classes — as opposed to feudalistic land ownership, but the unification of the ret-in-kind to rice tribute further helped to accelerate this tendency. The denial of country warrior land ownership and the standardization into a single form of the Shogunate government and feudal lord land ownership changed the feudal lord – peasant relationship from "direct compulsion" to "regulation by law", while the land-holding by peasants weakened various regulations binding itself, and paved the way to the peasant land ownership in effect. The Perpetual Land-trading Prohibition Law enacted in 1643 continued to exist until it was abolished in 1872, but the penal regulations were gradually alleviated. However, the interdiction of pawned farms that the Shogunate government issued in 1721 for the purpose of preventing peasants from their evading the above law was also doomed to recall in 1723 after a short life of two years, during which time it was exposed to pawned-farm riots in Nagadoro (長瀞) Kubiki (頸城) and so forth. Thus, despite these prohibitive laws, the land-holding of peasants was gradually being transformed into the land ownership of peasants in effect through land trading or pawning. It was the formative process of the disintegration of peasant classes. In the beginning the peasant commodity economy had no other significance than the extreme opposite of the feudal lords commodity economy, and it was kept under control by the farming acreage regulation law. But as time glided on, it gradually outgrew the original role of contrasting with the feudal lord's commodity economy, and gained an increasingly important role to be played in the social division of labor among peasant classes themselves.

2) Commodity Economy in the Middle of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

The table given below shows the volume of the flow of various products that were brought from different parts of Japan to Osaka, the greatest central market of the time in 1736. These figures do not include the rice-tribute of feudal lords. The quantity of rice brought to Osaka during the Tokugawa period is said to have totaled somewhere between 4,300,000 and 4,400,000 bags (俵) (one bag is approximately 72.1564 liters), 80% of which was the rice-tribute of feudal lords, and the remaining 20% (or roughly 800,000 to 900,000 bags) was the merchant rice, but in this table is given only the amount of the merchant rice. Practically all products listed in this table were those produced and sold by the commoners, above all, peasants. The peasant commodity economy such as shown in this table had already begun to overwhelm the feudal lord's commodity economy based

primarily on the rice-tribute as early as in the middle part of the Tokugawa period.

Table I Volume of the Flow of Various Products brought to Osaka from different parts of Japan in 1736

Nomenclature	Value in silver currency			Place of production
Rice	8,637 kan(貫)		7%	all parts of Japan
White cotton cloth	5,172 kan	5		Awaji, Bizen, Settsu, Kawachi Yamato, Izumi, Settsu, Suho, Kii, Awa, Iyo, Bungo, Buzen
Striped-cotton cloth	194			Izumi, Kii, Settsu, Yamashiro
Cotton	3,597	4	12%	Yamato, Yamashiro, Izumi, Kawachi Settsu, Tamba, Bitchu, Sanuki
Ginned cotton	1,214	1		Tamba, Kawachi, Yamashiro, Yamato Izumi, Settsu, Hoki, Bizen, Bitchu, Aki, Sanuki
Cotton yarn	1,983	2		Kii, Settsu, Awaji, Izumi
Kyoto fabrics	1,704	2		Kyoto
Silk	1,457	1		Ueno, Kaga, Tango, Kai Yamashiro, Hitachi, Echizen
Pongee	190		3%	Shinano, Hitachi, Yamashiro, Shimofusa Musashi, Kazusa
Silk-wadding	443			Kaga, Tajima, Yamashiro, Ohmi, Wakasa Echizen, Tamba, Settsu, Awa, Sanuki
Hemp products	2,636		3%	
Chinese fabric	1,401		1%	
Kyoto dyed goods	253			
Used articles	1,238		1%	
Total of fibre and fabrics	21,684		21%	
Grand total with others.	100,750		100%	

Note: Computed on the basis of the data included in "*The The History of Osaka City*", Vol. VI, c. 769 sq.

Not only that, but also almost all sorts of commodities produced by peasants were coming from all parts of Japan to Osaka, and being distributed through this central market all over the country. More over, geographical specialization began to take shape during this period, in which we can see the original form of the geographical specialization of Meiji Restoration.

Rice.....Rice was brought to this market from practically all parts of the country, but the two greatest exporting regions were the single rice-crop districts of Tohoku and Hokuriku. 84.3% of the commodities shipped from both ports of Tsuchizaki and Noshiro of the Akita clan in 1836 was rice, and 67% of this amount of exported rice was occupied by the merchant

rice which was twice as much as the amount of the rice-tribute of feudal lords[1]. It has been generally misunderstood that the circulation of rice was limited to the tribute rice, and the peasants' rice was put to direct consumption. But the truth was that the peasants' rice, especially that of Tohoku, Hokuriku and Kyushu, was flowing plentifully into the central market already.[2]

Silk.....With the exception of Kyoto fabrics of Nishijin, silk goods were also produced by peasants. The figures for these goods are unexpectedly small, because they were usually brought to Kyoto and distributed through that trading center. The places of their production were concentrated in the Kanto district and along the Nakasendo highway with some exceptions.

Cotton.....It was cotton and cotton products that occupied the greatest weight among the peasant's commodities brought to Osaka. With the exception of Hōki and Tamba, they were mostly produced in the coastal districts of the Seto inland-sea, and the items of products differed from one place to another. These clothing materials were imported by frontier districts in exchange for their exportation of rice. In 1836, these clothing materials occupied 45% of the imports of the Akita clan, while much later in 1869, 54% of the Satsuma clan were occupied by these materials coming from these districts.[3]

As we have seen above, peasants of different provinces of Japan had been producing different kinds of commodities of their own speciality, and exchanging their products among themselves through central markets such as Edo or Osaka by the middle part of the Tokugawa period. In fact, geographical specialization was an essential factor for the formation of home market. And this already established geographical specialization assumed a feature suggestive of the ensuing period from the end of Meiji Restoration, which we are going to discuss soon.

3) Commodity Economy in the Early Years of Meiji

There are two groups of materials which serve our purpose of measuring the degree of development of commodity economy across the country in those days which we are calling in question. As the materials belonging to the first group, we have '*Lists of Products by Prefectures for 1874*', compiled by the affice for the Encouragement of Industry and "*Lists of*

1) A Yukifusa Hattori and Seizaburo Shinobu, *the History of Manufacture in Japan*, pp. 9 sq. The original source is '*Complete History of Akita*', the last volume, appendix pp. 155-6.

2) As to the turning of the peasants' rice into commodity, see Shinzaburo Oishi, '*The Starting-Pointo of the Formation of Parasitical Landlords*', in '*Some Studies on the History of Japanese Landlord System*', edited by Toshio Furushima, pp. 182-93.

3) '*A Comparative List of Imports and Exports Products of the Kagoshima Clan*' in the frontispiece of the March 1935 issue of 'The Social Economic History'.

Products by Agricultural Provinces for 1877", compiled by The Bureau for Encouragement of Agricultural Industry, the former giving the outputs and values of different products of all prefectures, and the latter giving the outputs and values of agricultural products (agricultural, forest and marine products) by provinces. This group of materials shows ill-balanced production in each prefecture or province — it shows indirectly how far has a locality proceeded with geographical specialization or how deep has it gotten involved in commodity economy. As the materials belonging to another group, we have "*A Report on Ports in the Six Provinces*" "*A Report on Ports in the North-eastern Provinces*", and "*A Report on Ports in the South-western Provinces*", all compiled by The Governor of Hokkaido. With some additional data taken from statistical records of prefectures, they were rearranged into the statistics of imports and exports by prefectures which is included in "*An Economic Analysis of the Early Part of Meiji*" by Kazuo Yamaguchi. This group of materials shows ill-balanced production in each district was represented in a real form of imports and exports in the formative process of home market.

At the time when these historical materials were compiled, the foreign trade opened in 1858 began to exert some influence upon Japanese economy. To cope with this situation measures were taken to encourage the exportation of raw silk, tea, etc., on one hand, and to check those industries which would compete with foreign manufacturers of our importing goods like cotton products. Especially after the tenth year of Meiji, the land-tax reform act was put in effect, and the tribute-in-rice was abolished. Thus the formation of home market was hastened at an unusual speed by these accelerative factors. Inspite of it, we may safely say that the economic structure of Meiji Restoration period was still alive. For example, silk-reeling, spinning and weaving still retained the original form of peasant's industry. In this paper we shall examine the formation of home market in this period together with the peculiarity of the whole home market, borrowing "*Lists of Agricultural Products by Provinces for 1877*" and the statistics of imports and exports by prefectures rearranged by Mr. Yamaguchi as the basis of our discussion.

Let us begin with "*Lists of Agricultucts Products by Provinces for 1877.*" In using this historical material, our scholars often adopted an approach of measuring the progress of georaphical specialization by the degrees of concentration of staple products in the top five or ten provinces.[1] However, this approach does not serve to clarify the general character of each locality.

1) See Toshio Furushima, *The Development of Commercial Agriculture in Modern Age* pp. 9-15.

Table II List of Agricultural Products by Provinces for 1877

	Ordinary products (rice, barley, cereals)	Special prod. (agr, frstr, mari mfd gds)	Total	Rice (Ordinary prod.)	No. 1 Special prod.		No. 2 Special prod.		No. 3 Special prod.	
(Group I) Mutsu	97%	3%	100%	75%	Hemp	%	Colza-seed	%	Raw silk & cocoon	%
Ugo	93	7	100	80	Raw silk & cocoon	3	Indigo leaves	1	Tobacco leaves	
Echigo	82	18	100	67	Raw silk & cocoon	6	Colza-seed	5	Cotton	1
Etchu	87	13	100	77	Raw silk & cocoon	5	Indigo leaves	5	Colza-seed	2
Kaga	81	19	100	66	Raw silk & cocoon	8	Hemp	2	Cotton	2
Noto	85	15	100	65	Salt	10	Dried cuttlefish	1	Colza-seed	
Wakasa	79	21	100	58	Dried fish	6	Colza-seed	4	Hemp	3
(Group II) Rikuchu	70	30	100	42	Raw silk & cocoon	12	Dried Cuttlefish	10	Tobacco leaves	2
Rikuzen	47	53	100	33	Indigo leaves	22	Paper	10	Rush	5
Uzen	73	27	100	60	Raw silk & cocoon	20	Hemp	1	Colza-seed	1
Iwaki	78	22	100	57	Raw silk & cocoon	14	Tobacco leaves	2	Colza-seed	2
Iwashiro	58	42	100	42	Raw silk & cocoon	33	Cotton fruit	3	Carrot	2
Musashi	75	25	100	31	Raw silk & cocoon	14	Laver	4	Indigo leaves	2
Shimozuke	77	23	100	42	Hemp	8	Colza-seed	5	Cotton	3
Kozuke	50	50	100	18	Raw silk & cocoon	46	Hemp		Cotton	
Kai	48	52	100	25	Raw silk & cocoon	46	Cotton	3	Colza-seed	1
Shinano	65	35	100	34	Raw silk & cocoon	31	Hemp	1	Colza-seed	1
Hida	50	50	100	37	Raw silk & cocoon	48	Hemp		Tobacco	
Mino	62	38	100	44	Colza-seed	13	Raw silk & cocoon	6	Cotton	2
Echizen	78	22	100	64	Raw silk & cocoon	10	Hemp	4	Colza-seed	3
(Group III) Hitachi	87	13	100	53	Cotton	4	Colza-seed	2	Tea	1
Shimofusa	91	9	100	53	Cotton	3	Colza-seed	2	Tea	2
Kazusa	88	12	100	58	Dried Abalone	6	Cotton	2	Tea	1

	Ordinary products (rice, barley, cereals)	Special prod. (agr, frstr, mari mfd gds)	Total	Rice (Ordinary prod.)	No. 1 Special prod.		No. 2 Special prod.		No. 3 Special prod.	
Awa	41	59	100	24	Driep fish	48	Dried bonito	5	Dried abalone	3
Sagami	51	49	100	23	Dried fish	34	Raw silk & cocoon	11	Tobacco	2
Izu	82	18	100	49	Dried fish	3	Dried Cuttle fish	3	Gelidium cartilagineum	2
Suruga	72	28	100	50	Tea	17	Sugar	3	Chrysantha	2
Totoomi	89	11	100	52	Tea	8	Cotton	4	Sugar	3
Mikawa	78	22	100	46	Cotton	16	Dried herring	2	Tea	
Owari	84	16	100	56	Cotton	8	Raw silk & cocoon	3	Indigo leaves	2
Shima	73	27	100	48	Dried bonito	13	Gelidium cartilagineum	8	Dried fish	4
Ise	83	17	100	67	Colza-seed	6	Cotton	3	Tea	3
Iga	85	15	100	71	Colza-seed	8	tea	5	Cotton	2
Kii	74	26	100	35	Cotton	5	Orange	4	Colza-seed	3
Ohmi	71	29	100	62	Colza-seed	14	Coccon & raw silk	8	Tea	4
Tango	88	12	100	70	Cocoon & raw silk	7	Tea	3	Colza-seed	
Tamba	52	48	100	41	Cocoon & raw silk	30	Tea	8	Colza-seed	7
Yamashiro	75	25	100	60	tea	15	Colza-seed	5	Cotton	4
Yamato	80	20	100	63	Cotton	8	Colza-seed	7	Tea	2
Izumi	68	32	100	51	Cotton	11	Colza-seed	17	Tobacco	
Kawachi	67	33	100	56	Cotton	18	Colza-seed	13	tea	
Settsu	76	24	100	63	Cotton	15	Colza-seed	5	Indigo leaves	4
Harima	65	35	100	46	Salt	29	Cotton	4	Colza-seed	1
Bizen	83	17	100	57	Cotton	6	Salt	5	Colza-seed	5
Bitchu	84	16	100	54	Cotton	9	Salt	3	Colza-seed	3
Bingo	85	15	100	56	Cotton	7	Salt	4	Cocoon	2
Aki	77	23	100	50	Cotton	14	Salt	2	Indigo leaves	1
Suo	75	25	100	51	Salt	12	Paper	4	Cotton	3
Nagato	89	11	100	71	Colza-seed	3	Paper	3	Bark of paper mulberry	2
Awa	65	35	100	32	Indigo leaves	17	Salt	7	Dried fish	4
Sanuki	77	21	100	45	Salt	7	Cotton	6	Sugar	5
Tosa	75	25	100	57	Bark of paper mulberry	6	Dried bonito	3	Sugar	2
(Goup IV) Inaba	82	28	100	68	Colza-seed	9	Indigo leaves	2	Bark of paper mulberry	1
Hoki	81	19	100	67	Cotton	15	Cotton	15	Safflower	1

	Ordinary products (rice, barley, cereals)	Special prod. (agr, frstr, mari mfd gds)	Total	Rice (Ordinary prod.)	No. 1 Special prod.		No. 2 Special prod.		No. 3 Special prod.	
Izumo	87	13	100	71	Cotton	5	Carrot	5	Indigo leaves	
Iwami	92	8	100	70	Bark of paper mulberry	2	Raw wax	2	Hemp	1
Mimasaka	84	16	100	63	Colza-seed	6	Cotton	3	Tobacco	2
Chikuzen	90	10	100	70	Colza-seed	4	Raw wax	2	Paper	2
Chikugo	84	16	100	53	Colza-seed	9	paper	3	Raw wax	2
Hizen	88	12	100	53	Colza-seed	2	Sugar	2	Raw wax	1
Higo	89	11	100	43	Colza-seed	3	Sugar	2	Tobacco	1
Buzen	89	11	100	63	Cocon & raw silk	5	Salt		Bark of paper mulberry	
Bungo	68	32	100	29	Died herring	24	Colza-seed	2	Raw wax	2

Notes: (1) Item missing figure is less than 1%.
(2) Computed from '*List of Agricultural Products by Province*' for In this source book, cocoon and raw silk were listed separately. But we put them together and treated them under one heading.
(3) Figures given in the source book were found to be very inacurate mainly due to poor statistical technique of the time. Sometimes they were inconsistent. We can only see the trend.

Therefore, we shall adopt a somewhat complex and detailed form of representation instead. The country is divided into four groups; namely, the first group includes the Japan Sea coastal areas of Hokuriku and Tohoku provinces, the second group includes the Pacific coastal areas of Tohoku provinces and the backbone mountains range areas of Kanto and Chubu provinces, the third group includes the Pacific and the Inland-sea coastal areas of Kanto, Chubu, Kinki, Chugoku and Shikoku, and the fourth groups includes the Sanin and the Kyushu provinces. Not without some exceptions, these area groups had much in common with each other.

To examine the group i at first, the four provinces of this area group exclusive of Noto and Wakasa whose rates of ordinary agricultural products are lower because of their marine products and also exclusive of Kaga which produces a considerable amount of raw silk, hemp and raw cotton, have ordinary agricultural products of as much as 82–90%, hence lower rates of special products. In other words, they are primarily cereal producing provinces. But of these four provinces, Ugo, Echigo, and Ettchu are predominantly rice producing areas, with strikingly high percentage of rice production occupying in ordinary agricultural production. Whereas in the province of Mutsu ordinary agricultural products excluding rice reaches 22%, Ugo,

Echigo and Etchu had already been integrated deeply into home market through merchandizing of rice as single crop provinces producing rice, but Mutsu was a rice-producing province which was very close in nature to those provinces in the group iv which had an inclination toward self-sufficient cereals production.

The group ii provinces excepting Shimozuke and the group iii provinces with an addition of Tamba, were silkworm-raising and silk-reeling districts, in which we can clearly see much influence of those days. In these provinces the rate of ordinary agricultural production, especially rice production, was low, while that of cocoon-silk production (indigo leaves production in the case of Rikuzen) was so high that it exceeded 30% in Iwashiro, Kozuke, Kai, Shinano, Hida or Tamba. Of course we should admit that our calculation is made of silkworm-raising and silk-reeling combined, hence if we intend to make a well-balanced comparison of the cocoon-silk producing districts, we must add the figures of cotton-ginning and cotton yarn to those of raw cotton production. Unfortunately, however, "*the List of Agricultural Products*" does not carry figures for cotton-ginning and cotton yarn. Therefore, as compared with the cotton producing provinces, the silkworm-raising and silk-reeling provinces are represented excessively heavier. The same is true with indigo leaves and sugar cane. Nevertheless, these provinces were deeply interwoven into home market and further into the world market through silkworm-raising and silk-reeling.

When we exclude from the group iii those provinces which produce a good amount of marine products (like Awa, Sagami, Shima, Harima, Suwo, Sanuki together with Tosa in a different sense) and the silkworm raising and silk-reeling province (Tamba) which must belong to the group ii, there are few provinces whose rate of ordinary agricultural products exceeds 80%. More characteristic than the low rate of ordinary agricultural products in most of these provinces is the fact that there are many provinces which have a gap exceeding 30% between this low rate of ordinary agricultural products and a still lower rate of rice which is one of ordinary agricultural products — where the raising of second crop in paddy fields or the cultivation of vegetable gardens was highly developed. The rate of special agricultural products was high. The tea-manufacturing provinces of Suruga and Yamashiro, the cotton producing provinces of Izumi, Kawachi, Settsu, Aki and Mikawa, the indigo leaves producing province of Awa were playing an important role and can compare with silkworm-rasing and silk-reeling provinces of the group ii. Especially in Izumi, Kawachi and Awa, both rates of ordinary agricultural products and rice were distinctly lower for that reason. Thanks to self-sufficing barley and cereals produc-

tion, these provinces in this area group could bring a considerable amount of rice to the market. A variety of special agricultural products were also being brought into market to a great extent.

Although the group iv includes a marine product province of Bungo as the province of Hōki which should belong to the group iii, it can compare with the group i for its high rate of ordinary agricultural products. The provinces in this area group are primarily cereals producing districts. Unlike Ugo, Echigo or Etchu, the rate of rice among ordinary agricultural products is much small, and the gap between the rate of rice and that of ordinary agricultural products exceeds 20% ; 31% in Chikugo, 35% in Hizen, and as much as 46% in Higo — a greater gap than in Mutsu, which indicates more developed second crop raising and vegetable gardening. It appears that with self-sufficing production of barley and cereals for food, the merchandizing of rice were developing rapidly in this area group. In this respect, it has a different condition from the group i which is a single crop area producing rice.

From the foregoing discussion, now we can see that with the special agricultural products area consisting of the group ii specializing in silkworm-raising and silk-reeling (centering around Kai, Hida, Shinano, Kōzuke and the group iii specializing in cotton, tea, and indigo leaves (centering around Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi, Mikawa, Suruga, Yamashiro and Awa) in the center were the group i of single-crop provinces producing rice and the group iv of primarily cereals producing provinces on the both extremes in the early years of Meiji. The special agricultural products area was not only located at the middle, but also it was the industrial area of those days. Now it is time for us to examine the imports and exports of prefectures as they serve to integrate geographical specialization into home market.

Given below is the material taken from a book written in the early part of the decade following the tenth of Meiji. It is too old from our time. Besides, it has another drawback of wanting the data for inland prefectures or silkworm-raising and silk-reeling areas. But please allow me to use that material. Remember that it still retains the original model of the early years of Meiji.

The central prefectures constituting the groups ii and iii were exporting clothing (Aichi, Mie, Wakayama, Osaka, Okayama, Hiroshima, and also Tottori), indigo leaves (Tokushima), tea (Shizuoka, Mie and perhaps Kyoto, too), and sugar (Ehime including Kagawa), and importing a large quantity of rice in return. Although they are not listed here, those silkworm-raising and silk-reeling prefectures might have shown a similar tendency more strongly. On the other hand, prefectures of the Tohoku and the

Table III The Imports and Exports by Prefecture for the Decade following the Tenth of Meiji

	Staple exports	Staple imports		Staple exports	staple imports
Aomori	Rice(30–50%), Soya beans (8–15), Sardinerefuse (8–13)	Clothing(44–52), Marine products of Hokkaido(6–14), Salt (3–6), Sugar (4–6)	Osaka	Raw cotton, Cotton fabrics, Sake	Rice, Sugar, Salt, Fish manure
			Hyogo	Sake	Fish manure, Rice
Iwate	Rice, Tuna	Clothing (55)	Kyoto		Rice, Salt, Sugar
Miyagi	Rice (60–80), Soya beans (5–10) Copper (5–9),	Clothing (67–70), Sgar (6)	Oka-yama	Rice (29), Salt (18), Cotton (1)	Fish manure (32), Clothing (22)
Akita	Rice (80)	Salt (9–18), Clothing (30–40), Hokkaido Marine products (9–13), Sugar (8–10)	Hiro-shima	Iron (25), Salt (12–16), Tatami matting (11–12), Cotton (8–10)	Rice (24–31), Fish manure (10), Clothing (9–10)
Yama-gata	Rice (82–89), Sake (9–12)	Hokkaido madine products (63), Clothing (12–22), Salt (10–11)	Yama-guchi	Salt (76), Paper (22)	Rice (60), Coal (12), Sugar (1)
Niigata	Rice (70–80), Hemp clothing (7–10)	Salt (5–13), Clothing (25–58), Hokkaido marine products (10–20), Sugar (8–11)	Toku-shima	Indigo leaves (74), Sugar (11)	Rice (46), Fish manure (40)
Toyama	Rice(65) Drugs(14) Cotton fabrics (9)	Marine products of Hokkaido (30), Raw cotton (23)	Ehime (Kaga-wa)	Sugar, Rice, Fish, Salt	Clothing, Fish manure, Sake
Fukui	Rice (29), Drugs (16), Colza oil (12)	Marine products of Hokkaido (48), Sugar (8), Salt (7)	Tottori	Iron, Cotton fabrics, Raw cotton	Rice, Petroleum, Hair oil
Ishika-wa	Fish (34), Lacquer wares (17)	Rice (21), Marine products of Hokkaido (18)	Fuku-oka	Rice (42), Wax (25), Sake (9)	Clothing (56), Fancy goods (18)
Ibaragi	Silk thread (60) (reexportation), Tobacco (9), Rice (8)	Clothing, Fancy goods	Kuma-moto	Rice, Soy beans, Wax	Clothing
Chiba	Marine products, Soy sauce	Rice	Saga	Rice (50), Coal (23)	Clothing (37), Tobacco (14)
Kana-gawa		Rice, Sake, Salt	Naga-saki	Sugar, Dried cuttlefish, Wax	Clothing, Rice
Tokyo		Rice, Sake, Sugar, Timber, Tea, Salt, Cotton fabrics	Miya-zaki	Rice(17), Shiitake mushroom (12), Charcoal (10), Camphor (9)	Clothing (53)
Shizu-oka	Tea (73) Paper (11)	Clothing (39), Barley (11), Rice (10), Soy beans (10)	Kago-shima	Rice(71), Tobacco (15), Dried bonito (13)	Clothing (49)

	Staple exports	Staple imports
Aichi	Cotton fabrics(28), Sake (15), Chinaware (14)	Clothing (39), Fish manure (12), Sugar (9), Rice(8)
Mie	Raw silk (27), Tea (22) Cotton fabrics (16), Chinaware (10)	Cotton yarn (23), Rice (19) Sugar (18) Clothing (12)
Waka-yama	Flannel	Rice
Hok-kaido	Fish manure, Tangle	Rice, Fancy goods, Cotton fabrics, Sake

Notes: (1) Kazuo Yamaguchi, '*An Economic Analysis of the Early part of Meiji*', pp. 214–5. Figures in the brackets represent the percentage of net exports or imports to total exports or imports for respective items.

(2) These figures show the amount of exports or inports that passed ports, and do not include within-prefecture circulation of goods, exports and imports by land or rivers, and especially those between inland prefectures.

Hokuriku districts (Aomori, Iwate, Akita, Yamagata, Niigata, Toyama, and Fukui) and those in Kyushu (Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Saga, Ōita, Miyazaki, and Kagoshima) were exporting rice, and sometimes soy beans in large quantity, and were importing a large amount of clothing and fish. Especially the exportation of rice occupied the greater part of the total exports in Akita, Niigata, Miyagi, Toyama, and Kagoshima. To show the amount of rice exported from each prefecture per-centagewise, Yamagata 36%, Niigata 35%, Toyama 30–36%, Miyagi 20–60%, Akita 16%, Oita 17%, and Aomori 10%.[1]

Thus, all parts of the country were taking part either deeply or lightly in home market pivoting on central prefectures through production of their respective specialities.

The agricultural structure of the period from the end of Meiji Restoration can be identified with that peasants' commercial agriculture that had grown strong enough to from home market for itself in opposition to feudal lord landownership and feudal lord's commodity economy. The commercial agriculture, however, differed in its degree of development and in items of production from one place to another. For this reason, the agricultural structure in one place differs from that in another place. Now we shall proceed to discuss in concrete the disintegrating process of peasants classes in different areas.

1) Kazo Yamagchi, *An Economic Analysis of the Early Part of Meiji*. pp. 116, 123, 128, 128, 131, 136, 204.